

THE  
SPEECH

OF

Henry Sacheverell, D.D.

UPON HIS

IMPEACHMENT

AT THE

Bar of the House of Lords,

IN

WESTMINSTER-HALL,

MARCH 7. 170<sup>9</sup><sub>10</sub>.



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JUST PUBLISH'D,

**C**ollections of Passages Referr'd to by  
Dr. HENRY SACHEVERELL in His An-  
swer to the Articles of His Impeachment:  
Under Four Heads; I. Testimonies Con-  
cerning the Doctrine of Non-Resistance to  
the Supreme Powers. II. Blasphemous, Ir-  
religious, and Heretical Positions lately pub-  
lish'd. III. The Church, and Clergy Abus'd.  
IV. The Queen, State, and Ministry reflected  
upon.





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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE  
The Lords Spiritual and Temporal  
In PARLIAMENT Assembled.

May it Please YOUR LORDSHIPS,

**I**T hath been my Hard Fortune to be Misunderstood, at a time when I endeavour'd to Express my self with the utmost Plainness; even the Defence I made at YOUR LORDSHIPS Bar, in hopes of Clearing the Innocence of my Heart, hath been grievously Misrepresented. For which reason I have humbly Presum'd to Offer it in This manner to YOUR LORDSHIPS Perusal.

MY LORDS, These are the very Words I spoke to YOUR LORDSHIPS. I hope they are so Plain, and Express, as not to be capable of any Misconstruction: and may I so find Mercy at the Hands of God, as they are in every Respect, entirely Agreeable to my Thoughts, and Principles.

I am,

My LORDS,

YOUR LORDSHIPS most Obedient,

and most Dutiful Servant,

HENRY SACHEVERELL.

MY LORDS,

**T**HE Defence made by *My Council* has been so Full, and Particular, and the Trial it self drawn out into so Great a Length, that I should not Add to YOUR LORDSHIPS Trouble by saying any Thing for My Self, did I not think that in *such a Cause*, as *This*, (wherein the *Doctrine of Our Church*, the *Dignity of That Holy Order*, to which I belong, and even the *Common Interest of Christianity* it self are so nearly Concern'd) it becomes Me not to be altogether Silent.

For, MY LORDS, it has been Own'd by some of the *Managers for the Honourable House of Commons*, that tho' I am the *Person Impeach'd*, yet *My Condemnation* is not the Thing principally Aim'd at. I am, it seems, an *Insignifi-Tool of a Party*, not worth Regarding; the Avow'd Design of My *Impeachment* is, by the Means of it to procure an *Eternal and Indelible Brand of Infamy to be fixt in a Parliamentary way*, on All those, who Maintain the *Doctrine of Non-Resistance*, and to have the *Clergy directed what Doctrines they are to Preach*, and what not. And therefore, as *Insignificant* as I am in my Self, yet the *Consequences of My Trial*, (if rightly Represented to YOUR LORDSHIPS by some of *Those Gentlemen*) are of the highest Moment, and Importance.

Since I am the Unfortunate Occasion of bringing these Matters in Judgment before YOUR LORDSHIPS, it will behove Me, I think, after what has been Pleaded in My Behalf by *My Council Learned in the Law*, to say somewhat also for My Self, in order to Clear the *Innocence of My Intentions*, and Remove that Load of *Guilt and Infamy*, which may be laid upon Me, should YOUR LORDSHIPS Determine, (as, I Trust in God, You will not) that the *Articles of Impeachment Exhibited*, have been made Good against Me.

With YOUR LORDSHIPS Permission then, I shall lay  
before



before You, some few *General Remarks* which in my humble Opinion may be added to what *My Council* have already Observ'd, concerning the Methods taken by the *Managers* for the *Honourable House of Commons*, to Prove and Support the *Articles* of their Charge. And shall then with YOUR LORDSHIPS Leave say somewhat *severally* to the *Articles* themselves, which may serve to Remind YOUR LORDSHIPS of what my *Council* before Offer'd more at large, and with Greater Advantage.

MY LORDS, the Charge brought against Me in these *Articles* is of a very *High*, and *Heinous* Nature; and had it been as *Clearly Made out*, as it has been *strongly Affirm'd*, it would justly have Expos'd Me to a very Severe Sentence. But the more *Heinous* the Charge is, the more *Evident* and *Undeniable*, I should think, the *Proof* ought to be. And how, MY LORDS, has this Charge been Supported in the Several *Articles* of it? By *Plain, Direct, and Express* Passages produc'd, and read to YOUR LORDSHIPS out of my *Sermons*; or by *Intendments, Unnecessary Implications, and Strain'd Constructions*? By laying *Entire Sentences* before YOUR LORDSHIPS, and Relying upon what was *Manifestly* contain'd in Them; or by *Piecing Broken Sentences, and Conjoining Distant and Independent Passages*, in order to Make Me *Speak*, what I never *Thought* of?

I am Unacquainted, MY LORDS, with the Methods of *Legal Proof*, and little thought I should have had *This Occasion* of Enquiring into Them. But, as far as I am able to Comprehend any thing of This Nature, I should think, that there cannot be a *Clearer Indication*, that I am not Guilty of having Asserted what I am Charg'd by the several *Articles* to have said, than that so many *Hours Learning* and *Eloquence* have been Employ'd in *Proving* Me to have said it. Had I *really Affirm'd* those Propositions for which I am Accus'd, My *Sermons* being before YOUR LORDSHIPS, the Places wherein such Propositions were directly Contain'd, might have been referr'd to, and Read, with the same Ease as *My Council* referr'd to the Passages contain'd in the several *Writings, and Sermons* of the *Reverend Fathers, and Other Eminent Divines* of Our Church, wherein They Taught the *Doctrine of Non-Resistance* in the same Ex-

now as I Maintain'd it, or in Terms much Stronger.

These Passages, produc'd by My Council, were barely Read to YOUR LORDSHIPS (No Arguments, no Colours were us'd, because None were Necessary to prove what Propositions were laid down in those Passages; Whereas to Prove Me Guilty of having Asserted what is laid to my Charge, after my Sermon and Prefaces were Read to YOUR LORDSHIPS, much Art, and Industry were us'd to Persuade YOUR LORDSHIPS, that such Assertions were really Contain'd in Them.

My LORDS, when my Words were Capable of Two Sentences, the Worst, and most Invidious, tho' at the same time the most Scurrilous, and Unnatural Construction, has been always made of Them. Nay, when My Words were so Plain and Express, that it was Impossible to put any Criminal Glosses or Colours upon them, I have been Accus'd of Making the Direct contrary to what I have said: And when I press'd the Duty of Allegiance to the QUEEN, YOUR LORDSHIPS were told, that it was most certain, I Meant the Pretender.

To Aggravate My Guilt, I have been Accus'd not only for what I am Suppos'd to have said, but for what I am Allow'd not to have Said: not only for what I have taken Notice of, in My Sermons, but for what I have pass'd by Unobserv'd: I have been Charg'd with Negative Crimes; as if what I Omitted to say, had been Omitted with Design, and My Silence it self were Criminal.

These, My LORDS, are the Methods, that have been made use of to Prove Me Guilty of Crimes, which, if Prov'd, might Affect my Liberty and Fortune; No favourable Allowances have been made to a Minister of the Gospel, Discharging the Duty of his Function, and Rebuking Vice and Irreligion with an Honest and Well-meant Zeal, but sometimes perhaps carrying Him into Expressions too Open, and Unguarded. I could Add, My LORDS, if such a Complaint might not be Thought Improper from One in My Circumstances, that, in the Course of my Accusation, I have been Stil'd a Criminal, and Treated as Such by some of these Honourable Gentlemen, with a Degree of Scorn, and Indignity, from which I hop'd my Sacred Profession, my Present Unhappy Condition, and a Regard to this Solemn and Awful Judicature might have Screen'd Me.

But,



But, MY LORDS, I lay aside all *Complaints* of This Nature, and with YOUR LORDSHIPS Leave shall proceed to make some few, short Observations upon the several *Branches* of the Charge Exhibited against Me.

I am Charg'd, MY LORDS, in the *First Article*, with having Maintain'd, That the *Necessary Means* us'd to bring about the *Late Happy Revolution* were *Odious and Unjustifiable*; in Proof of which it has been urg'd, that I have in *General Terms* asserted, the *Utter Illegality of Resistance to the Supreme Power* upon any *Pretext whatsoever*. MY LORDS, The *Resistance* in That Passage by Me Condemn'd, is no where by Me *Applied* to the *Revolution*; nor is it *Applicable* to the *Case* of the *Revolution*, the *Supreme Power* not being then *Resisted*.

MY LORDS, I neither expressly Apply'd My Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* to the *Case* of the *Revolution*; nor had I the least Thoughts of Including the *Revolution* under My *General Assertion*. I express'd This Doctrine in the same *General Terms* in which I Found it Deliver'd by the *Apostles of Christ*. I Taught it as I had *Learnt* it, from the *Homilies of Our Church*, and as I was *Injoin'd* to Teach it, by the *Articles of our Religion*. I us'd no *Other Language*, than what had been Us'd by Our *First Reformers*, by a *Continued Series of Right Reverend Prelates*, and *Other Celebrated Divines* now with God, and by *Many of those Venerable Fathers*, before whom I stand, and what is perfectly Agreeable to the *Laws*, and *Statutes* of this Realm. I had *Little Reason* to Apprehend that I could ever have been *Accus'd* by the *Gentlemen of the House of Commons* to YOUR LORDSHIPS as a *Criminal*, or as an *Asperser of the Memory of the Late King*, for Preaching This Doctrine; when *Others*, who Preach'd the *Same Doctrine*, in the *Same Terms*, before *Their Late Majesties*, before Our *Present Gracious Sovereign*, (whom I pray God long to Preserve!) before *Each House of Parliament*, before This very *House of Commons*, have Met with *Publick Approbation*: But since it is My *Singular Misfortune* to be *Accus'd*, for what *Others* have *Receiv'd Thanks*, in some *Instances* convey'd to Them, by *several of the Managers Themselves*, I do with all humble Confidence rely upon YOUR LORDSHIPS *Justice*; not

doubting but that the *Learned the Judges*, if thought Necessary to be Consulted, will Declare, what I have in This Case Asserted, to be Warranted by Law, and the Right Reverend the *Bishops* will affirm it to be the *Doctrine of the Gospel*.

The *Doctrine* I preach'd being the *Doctrine of the Homilies* of Our Church, not express'd only in a Few particular Passages of those *Homilies*, but perfectly Agreeable to the whole Tenor, the main Scope and Design of them; And those *Homilies* being Establish'd by the *Thirty Nine Articles*, as containing Godly and wholesome *Doctrine*; and those *Articles* being confirm'd by the 13. of *Qu. Eliz.*; and that Statute being made Perpetual, and Fundamental to Our Constitution by the *Late Act of Union*; I leave it to YOUR LORDSHIPS to consider, how far the Condemnation of Me, on the Account of That *Doctrine*, may Affect, and Shake the present Frame of the *British Constitution*, in Church, and State, and tend to Dissolve the Union of the two Kingdoms.

MY LORDS, upon the *Second Article*, I would humbly pray YOUR LORDSHIPS to consider, that I have no where in my Sermon shewn any the least Dislike of the *Indulgence Granted by Law to Dissenters*; that, on the contrary, I have Declar'd My Approbation of it in the most express Terms imaginable, which I beg leave once more to repeat to YOUR LORDSHIPS out of My Sermon Preach'd at *St. Paul's*. I would not (I there say) be Misunderstood, as if I intended to cast the least Invidious Reflection upon That *Indulgence*, which the Government hath Condescended to give them; which I am sure, all Those, who Wish well to our Church, are ready to Grant to Consciences truly scrupulous; let them Enjoy it in the full Limits the Law hath Prescrib'd.

MY LORDS, This then was, and still is, My sincere Opinion, nor am I conscious that I have utter'd one Word Inconsistent with it. I have indeed Blam'd, and perhaps with some Warmth, and Earnestness Blam'd, the Abuses, which Men of no Conscience, have made, of the *Legal Exemption*, granted to Consciences truly scrupulous: nor could I think that those Reprehensions of Mine, would have drawn upon Me the Displeasure of any Sincere Christian, which were Levell'd against Hypocrites, Socinians, Deists, and such as,  
under



under the Umbrage of That *Act*, which *permits Protestant Dissenters*, and those Only, to serve God, every Man in his Own way, think themselves at Liberty to be of no *Protestant Congregation*, of no Religion at all. I will farther ingenuously Own to YOUR LORDSHIPS, that I had in my Eye some *Abuses* made of That *Act* by the *Dissenters themselves*; who, I am told, do (both *Pastors*, and *People*) rarely Observe the *Qualifications* prescrib'd by That *Act*; and who Erect *Seminaries* for Educating Youth in *Principles* opposite to the *Doctrine*, *Discipline*, and *Worship* of Our Church: whereas That *Act* was intended for the Ease of Those, whose Minds through the Unhappy Prejudices of Education, were already Estranged from the Church; not, as I humbly conceive, to Indulge Men in taking the most effectual Methods to Propagate, and Perpetuate their Schism.

MY LORDS, of any Favours to Dissenters Granted, or Intended by the Law, I have no where Complain'd; of Toleration, a word unknown to Our Laws, and Implying, as I am inform'd, much more than Our Law-Givers Design'd, if I have said any thing *Offensive*, I may, I hope, reasonably Presume, that it will not be Judg'd by YOUR LORDSHIPS in any wise to Reflect on that *Act* of *Exemption*, which I have spoken of in *Terms*, no ways, I think, Misbecoming a *Good Subject*, or Betraying any want of *Christian Moderation*. Nor is there, MY LORDS, any want of it, I conceive, in Affirming that *this Act*, which Relieves some Dissenters from *Legal Punishments*, to which they were before Obnoxious, hath not any ways Alter'd the *Nature* of *Schism*, or Extinguish'd the *Obligations* to *Church Communion*; which is an *Evangelical Duty*, incumbent on All Christians, by the *Rules* of the *Gospel*, *Antecedent* to all *Secular Laws*, and can by no *Human Power* be *Dispens'd* with. If the *Church of England*, MY LORDS, imposes no *Unlawful Terms* of *Communion*, as She certainly does not, then all *Separatists* from Her *Communion*, will, notwithstanding the *Indulgence*, continue to be Guilty of *Schism*; The Consequence of which *Guilt*, may still rest upon their *Soul*, however it may cease to Affect their *Bodies*, or *Estates*. For as no *Human Law* can render That *Lawful* which God hath *Forbidden*, so neither can it make that *Void*, which God hath *Commanded*.

MY

MY LORDS, I am Accus'd, under this Head, of Maintaining, that *it is the Duty of Superior Pastors to Thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's against Persons Intitul'd to the Benefit of the Toleration*; I hope, it hath evidently appear'd to YOUR LORDSHIPS, that I Advance no such Position. Sure I am, that My Words do not in themselves carry such a Meaning, nor does the Connexion of My Discourse require That Sense, or easily Admit it. Schismatics, MY LORDS, are not the Only Persons, against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be Denounced, the Works of Darkness, which I referr'd to, *as fit to be Reprov'd*, in that Part of my Sermon, where I speak of These Censures, are of the same kind with Those mention'd by the Apostle, whose Words I produc'd, All Lewd, and Immoral Practices; Against these, MY LORDS, and against Heresies, and Blasphemies; (a Black Catalogue of which has been Display'd before YOUR LORDSHIPS) I thought the Anathema's of the Church would be well employ'd, such Anathema's, I doubt not, MY LORDS, would be ratified in Heaven, and would, therefore by any Power on Earth, be Irreversible.

As to Archbishop Grindal, tho' I may seem to have us'd some undue Asperity of Expression concerning him, yet I charg'd him with nothing but what I had good Grounds for, from Our Historians: It hath been made appear to YOUR LORDSHIPS, that, on the Account of His Remissness in Church-Government, He liv'd and dy'd under the High Displeasure of Q. Elizabeth; and whether therefore He, or That Glorious Queen, shall bear the Blame of his Disgrace and Sufferings, is with all Humility submitted to YOUR LORDSHIPS.

I hope, MY LORDS, I stand Clear, in YOUR Opinions, of the Charge advanc'd against Me, in the Two First Articles; and as My Own Conscience Acquits, so I trust YOUR LORDSHIPS will Acquit Me, of whatever is laid to My Charge in the Third.

MY LORDS, I neither have Suggested, nor do in my Conscience Believe, that the Church is in the least Peril, or Adversity from HER MAJESTY'S Administration. So far am I from any such Thoughts, that I am entirely satisfied of HER being a most Affectionate Nursing-Mother to it. But I hope I may say without Offence, that the Church may



be in Peril from *Other Causes*, without any Reflection upon *HER MAJESTY'S Government*, or any Contradiction to *HER Royal Proclamation*, and the *Resolution of Both Houses of Parliament*, Four Years ago. If the *Church* be in Danger, when the *Christian Religion* is evidently so, I hope it will be thought no Crime to say, it has scarce ever been in Greater Danger than it is now, since Christ had a *Church* upon Earth. For besides that Deluge of *Prophaneness*, and *Immorality*, which overspreads the *Whole Kingdom*, besides the *Variety*, and *Growing Strength* of those *Schisms* which *Weaken* and *Divide* us, and of those *Heterodox Opinions*, and *Damnable Heresies*, which are daily *Published* and *Propagated* among us; I verily Believe, that never were the *Ministers of Christ* so *Abus'd*, and *Vilify'd*, never was the *Divine Authority* of the *Holy Scriptures* so *Arraign'd*, and *Ridicul'd*, never were *Infidelity*, and *Atheism* it self so *Impudent*, and *Barefac'd*, never were such *horrid Blasphemies* *Printed* in Any *Christian State*, from the *Foundation* of *Christianity* to this Day.

Out of the many Instances of this Kind, which, being ready at hand, I could have produc'd to YOUR LORDSHIPS, I have *Selected* a Few only; but Those such, as I am persuaded, YOUR LORDSHIPS could not hear without Horror and Astonishment. Pardon Me, MY LORDS, if My Apprehension of the sad Consequences We may expect from such *Crying Abominations*, have forc'd from me some Expressions, which upon a *Less* Occasion might seem too harsh, and vehement. A Man that Dreads no Danger from such *Unparallell'd Iniquities*, that do as it were call down God's severest Judgments upon That *Poor Church*, and *Nation*, wherein they are *Openly* and *Daringly* Committed, must be *Dead* in his Love for his *Country*, and *Religion*. If I have Disclos'd such a *Frightful*, and *Detestable Scene* of *Impiety*, which by reason of YOUR LORDSHIPS *High Stations*, and *Great Employments*, might possibly lie Undiscover'd to Your Sight before; I shall think My self *Happy*, whatever shall Befal Me, if I may by God's Grace become the *Mean Instrument*, of putting a stop to That *Overflowing* of *Ungodliness*, and *Blasphemy*, which as yet no *Laws*, no *Proclamations*, how well soever *Design'd*, and how

how often soever Repeated, have been Able to Restrain.

Nor ought I, MY LORDS, to Forget, tho' it was Forgotten by the Honourable Managers, Another Ground of Danger arising to This Church from the Attempts of Popish Emis-saries, by Me mention'd, I hope without the Least Offence, in My Sermon at St. Paul's, where I say, It were highly to be wish'd that Those Excellent Laws, made for the Defence, and Security of the Church, were at present put strictly in Execution; for the Roman Catholick Agents, and Missiona-ries, that swarm about this Great City, as 'twere in De-fiance and Contempt of them, were never more Busie in ma-king Profelytes to their Superstition and Idolatry, and Per-verting and Debauching HER MAJESTY's Subjects in every Corner of Our Streets. I have not, MY LORDS, been called upon to Prove the Truth of This Passage, nor has it been Reckon'd among the False Insinuations I have made that the Church is in Danger. I pray God, the Church may be in no Danger, upon any of These Accounts! HER MAJE-STY, YOUR LORDSHIPS, and the Commons, have indeed provided against these Dangers by Wholesome Laws, and I hope, I did not Exceed the Limits of my Function, when, being call'd to Preach before Magistrates, I Exhorted Them to Prevent these Dangers, by putting those Laws strictly in Execution.

Just had been the Indignation of the Honourable House of Commons, Just would be YOUR LORDSHIPS most severe Re-sentments, if by any Parallel by Me drawn, I had Insinua-ted that the Members of Both Houses, who Pass'd the Vote concerning the Safe and Flourishing Condition of the Church, had been then Conspiring its Ruin; I have already Purg'd My self from This Imputation, by Observing, that the Pa-rallel, ascrib'd to Me, Implies, that They who Voted King Charles the First to be out of Danger, and those who Con-spir'd his Death, were the very same Persons, whereas it is certain they were not; for, MY LORDS, the Vote about the King's Safety was Pass'd by Lords and Commons an Year and half before his Execrable Murther, which had been Contriv'd by the Army, and was Perpetrated by a Pretended Ordinance of a small Remnant of the House of Commons (not a Tenth Part of the Whole) after the Rest of the Mem-  
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bers had been Imprison'd, or Secluded, and without the Concurrence of the House of Peers, who totally Rejected it. You have had, MY LORDS, a very Different Representation of This Fall made by One of the Learned Managers: but this, MY LORDS, is the Real Truth, as recited in the Act of Parliament for the Attainder of the King's Murthe-  
rers; and is an Evidence, that I could not possibly mean by any Odious Parallel to Insinuate, that the Members of Both Houses, who Pass'd the Vote concerning the Safety of the Church, were then Conspiring its Ruin.

I humbly crave YOUR LORDSHIPS Patience yet a little farther, whilst I speak to what is Alledg'd in the Fourth Article, which Charges Me with many Crimes of a very High and Flagrant Nature; None of which have been Endeavour'd to be Prov'd upon Me, otherwise than from Suppos'd Suggestions, and Undetermin'd Expressions; and I must still, with YOUR LORDSHIPS Leave, humbly Insist upon it, that where the Expressions are Doubtful, there the Favourable Sense is always to be Preferr'd.

After all that has been said by the Learned Managers for the Commons, What Minister of State, I beseech YOUR LORDSHIPS, have I been Prov'd to Reflect upon, Directly, or Indirectly? Where, and How do I, by any Suggestion Charge HER MAJESTY, or Those in Authority under HER, with a General Male-Administration? How do I persuade HER Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties, and Factions, while I Reprove Those who Divide Us by Knavish Distinctions, and while I persuade My Fellow-Subjects to Lose and Forget them? How is it possible, I should Stir up the People to Arms and Violence, when I am endeavouring to Convince Them of the Utter Illegality of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever? These Things, MY LORDS, seem to be Inconsistent, unless a Man may be thought a Rebel for Recommending Loyalty, or Seditious for Preaching against Sedition.

I remember indeed, at the Opening of this Charge against Me, that One of the Managers for the House of Commons, Vouchsaf'd to Offer his Charitable Assistance towards Reconciling this Seeming Inconsistency; for He was pleas'd to Suppose that, when I spake against Resisting the Sovereign,  
I had

I had not Our Gracious Queen, but some Other Person in View; and that I might therefore agreeably to My Principles of Non-Resistance, stir up the People to Arms and Violence against HER SACRED MAJESTY. YOUR LORDSHIPS will once more pardon My Earnestness, if I call God to witness, that I utterly Detest any such Traiterous Intention; and I should in my Own Opinion be Unworthy of the Name of a Christian, if I could give my self leave to cast such a Black, and Groundless Imputation upon any One in like Circumstances with Mine, who had given all possible Evidences of his Duty and Affection to the Present Government. My LORDS, I have taken the Oaths of Allegiance to HER MAJESTY, and that of Abjuration against the Pretender, and when therefore I preach'd the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, it is most apparent, that the Government, which I persuaded My Fellow-Subjects not to Resist, is the Present Government; and I humbly conceive, that the Present Government can never be Overturnd, if it be never Resisted.

How True a Zeal, and Affection I have always born to HER MAJESTY'S Person, and Government, I leave to be Judg'd by YOUR LORDSHIPS, and the Whole World, from those Publick Demonstrations which I have given of it, at all Times, when I had Occasion to make Mention of Either. I hope, YOUR LORDSHIPS will Pardon Me, if I refer to some of My Own Printed Expressions, as an evident Proof of My Unfeign'd Duty, and Allegiance. " If, to call it the most Inestimable Blessing this Nation could Enjoy, that HER MAJESTY, the Good and Pious Relict of the Royal Family, " Sits now happily upon the Throne of HER Ancestors; if " to Pray, that God may long Preserve HER for the Comfort " and Support of the Church, as the Only Security, under " God, it has to Depend upon; If, earnestly to Contend for " the Safety, Rights, and Establishment of HER MAJESTY, " together with Those of the Church; If, to Vindicate HER " MAJESTY'S Title to the Crown against the Usurpations, " Pretences, and Encroachments of HER Adversaries, and to " Assert HER Right to the Throne to have been so Clear, " Manifest, and Undoubted, that even HER Worst Enemies (could such a Pious Princess be suppos'd to have any) " must acknowledge it; That SHE was Proclaim'd as 'twere " by



" by the Voice of God, in the Universal Joy, Satisfaction,  
 " and Unanimity of HER Subjects, that HER *Personal Merit*  
 " Exempted from *That*, made HER Worthy of a Brighter  
 " Diadem than SHE weats; If, to Persuade HER Subjects  
 " with the most hearty Zeal, and Generosity, to Enter into  
 " a Necessary War, for the Defence of HER MAJESTY, and  
 " the Common Preservation of Our Church, Liberties, and  
 " Constitution, against a Powerful Adversary; If, to Be-  
 " seech God to Prosper so Good an Undertaking, to give an  
 " happy Event and Issue to such a Rightful Cause, to Crown  
 " Our Arms with Victory, and to make them as Successful,  
 " as they are Just, and Honourable; And that, in order to  
 " this, We are All bound, both in Duty to God, and Our  
 " Sovereign, as well as by Our Own Interest, unanimously,  
 " and heartily to Assist, and Support HER under this Great  
 " Undertaking, as far as Our Prayers, and Estates, Lives,  
 " and Fortunes can Serve HER; If, to Persuade HER Sub-  
 " jects, that the Great, and Threatning Dangers of Our E-  
 " nemies, should have that Just Effect upon Us, to Unite  
 " Us, as much in Our Resolutions, and Affections, As they  
 " do in Our Common Interests, Apprehensions, and Trou-  
 " bles; If, to Set out the Blessings We enjoy in the Wise  
 " Constitution of Our Government, and Laws, in the most  
 " Refin'd Policies of Our Parliament, and Ministry, in the  
 " Strength and Number of Our Armies, Fleets, and Con-  
 " federates, in the Care and Watchful Vigilance, the Cou-  
 " rage, Resolution, and Conduct of Our General, and *above*  
 " all in the Piety, and Prudence of Our *Most Gracious*  
 " QUEEN; If, to Affirm that SHE daily gives fresh Instan-  
 " ces of HER Wisdom, in the Happy Administration of HER  
 " Government, and in nothing more Shews HER Policy, and  
 " Distinguishing Judgment, than in making Choice of  
 " such Ministers of State, who are acceptable to their  
 " Country, and Express such a Zeal, and Steadiness in its  
 " Service, and true Interests, and whom nothing could  
 " Bribe, or Betray into a Party, wherein it might any ways  
 " seem to be Endanger'd; If, with the most ardent Requests  
 " to implore God's Providence, which through so many  
 " Dangers and Difficulties has rais'd up, and Preserv'd HER  
 " MAJESTY, to carry on these Glorious Undertakings with  
 " Success,

" Success, that SHE may be Able to Restore, and Settle  
 " the Peace of *Europe*, it its just Rights and Limitations;  
 " and that, as God has Bestow'd a Crown upon HER in  
 " This World, as the Reward of these Heroic and Pious  
 " Designs, so, after a Long Reign here, he would Advance  
 " HER to an higher Throne in Heaven, and Dignify HER  
 " with a Glorious and Immortal Crown hereafter; If this,  
 MY LORDS, I say, is *Falsely, and Maliciously to Suggest,*  
*that HER MAJESTY's Administration both in Ecclesiastical,*  
*and Civil Affairs, tends to the Destruction of the Consti-*  
*tution; If This be Charging HER MAJESTY, and those in*  
*Authority under HER both in Church, and State, with a*  
*General Male-Administration; If This be, as an Incendi-*  
*ary, to persuade HER Subjects to keep up Distinctions of*  
*Factions and Parties; If This be Instilling Groundless Jeal-*  
*ousies, Fomenting Destructive Divisions, and stirring up*  
*HER MAJESTY's Subjects to Arms and Violence, against*  
*any but HER Enemies, then, MY LORDS, I am Guilty*  
*of this Article of Impeachment; Otherwise, I am Inno-*  
 cent.

MY LORDS, I have always thought it My Duty, upon  
 All Publick Occasions to Assert these Principles of *Loyalty,*  
*and Subjection* to the Supreme Power, whenever I had a  
 Proper Call so to do; of this there are *Numberless Witnes-*  
*ses* in those several Places to which I have Belong'd. One  
 of these I beg leave of YOUR LORDSHIPS particularly to  
 Mention, *Magdalen College in Oxford,* whereof I am at  
 present an Unworthy Member; and which by the known  
*Sufferings of the Whole Body for the Church, and Constitu-*  
*tion,* contributed as much towards the *Late Happy Revo-*  
*lution* as any Society in the Kingdom. To which *Honoura-*  
*ble Society* I humbly appeal for My Character, and Beha-  
 viour. I could also Appeal for the same to a Right Reve-  
 rend Lord, that now sits on the Bench of Bishops.

Had it been fit to have Troubl'd YOUR LORDSHIPS with  
*Evidences of My Hearty Affection to the Present Govern-*  
*ment,* I could have produced them in Great Abundance,  
 from the *Persons* with whom I have Convers'd, from the  
*Gentlemen* whom I have Bred up, and from the *Congrega-*  
*tions* to which I have Preach'd. If My Principles had any  
 Tendency



Tendency towards *Alienating the Affections* of HER MAJESTY's Subjects, surely *some One Instance* of My *Disloyalty* to the QUEEN, *some Favourable Expressions* towards the Pretender, *some Indications* of My *Dislike* to the *Present Settlement*, and the *Protestant Succession*, might have been *Pitch'd* upon, and *Expos'd* to YOUR LORDSHIPS, in order to *Justify* the *Charge of Sedition* against Me. But I cannot, but with Pleasure, Observe to YOUR LORDSHIPS, that from the *Whole Course* of My *Actions*, no *One Instance* of *That Kind* is *Allieg'd*, or so much as *Pretended*.

MY LORDS, the *Charge of wickedly wresting divers Texts of Scripture* lyes very heavy upon Me, as a *Christian*, and *Minister of Christ*. If I am *Guilty* of it, there is *Another Tribunal*, *Another Bar* at which I am to *Appear*, and where by *that Scripture*, which I have *Wrested*, I shall be *Judg'd*, and *Condemn'd*. In the mean time, MY LORDS, I hope that those, whose *Particular Profession*, and *Studies Qualify* Them to be the most *Competent Judges* of *such Matters*, will *Absolve* Me in this *Particular*.

Upon the *Whole*, therefore, MY LORDS, I hope it appears, that I am not *Guilty* of *any* of the *Crimes* of which I am *Accus'd*, that I have *Transgress'd no Law of the Land*, neither *Statute*, nor *Common Law*, relating either to HER MAJESTY, or to My *Fellow-Subjects*, to the *Church*, or to the *State*: and that I may with all *Humility* apply to my *Own Case*, the *Words* of *That Blessed Apostle*, whose *Doctrine* I *defend*, and whose *Example* I hope I shall have the *Grace* to *follow*, *Neither against the Law*, nor *against the Temple*, nor *against Caesar*, have I *Offended any Thing* at all.

What I have hitherto *humbly Offer'd* to YOUR LORDSHIPS relates to My *Words*, and *Actions*; and as to the *Thoughts*, and *Intentions* of My *Heart*, which are known only to *God*, and My *Own Conscience*, and which are *Affirm'd* in My *Impeachment* to be *Wicked*, *Seditious*, and *Malicious*; I call the *Searcher of Hearts* to *Witness* in the most *Solemn*, and *Religious Manner*, as I expect to be *Acquitted before God*, and *his Holy Angels*, at that *Dreadful Tribunal*, before which not only I, but *All the World*, even YOUR LORDSHIPS, who now sit in *Judgment* upon Me must *appear*, to be *Acquitted*, or *Condemn'd*; that I had no such *Wicked*, *Se-*

*ditions, or Malicious Intention; that there is nothing upon Earth, I mote Detest, and Abhor; that My Designs were, in every respect, directly Contrary. I had no Intention to Asperse the Memory of His Late Majesty, to Traduce, or Condemn the Late Happy Revolution, or to Arraign the Resolutions of Both Houses of Parliament. So far was I from Designing to Undermine, and Subvert HER MAJESTY's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law Establish'd, that it was My Sincere Intention to Exert My Best Endeavours for their Security. So far was I from Intending, to persuade HER MAJESTY's Subjects, to keep up a Distinction of Parties, and Factions, from Instilling groundless Jealousies, fomenting Destructive Divisions among them, or Exciting and Stirring them up to Arms and Violence, that My Aim was to persuade them to lay aside All Distinctions, to Unite in One, well-compacted Body, to be Obedient to their Governors, and to Support the Present Establishment. So far was I from Designing to Defame HER MAJESTY's Administration, or to Infuse any Undutiful Thoughts of HER, that I not only Pay HER All Honour and Obedience, but am from the bottom of my Soul zealously, and affectionately Loyal to HER; being entirely persuaded, that the Church is so far from being in Danger from HER, that SHE is as heartily Affected to its Establishment, and Prosperity, as, I hope, I have always shew'd my self to be to HER Sacred Person, and Government.*

*As to the Protestant Succession by Law Establish'd, tho' the Doctrine which I Preach'd, tends to the Security of it, (as I heartily desire every thing by Me spoken should tend) yet having no Occasion in either of My Sermons to take Notice of it, I do no where in Those Sermons Mention it, nor say any thing that can be Interpreted to have any View towards it. Therefore tho' I cannot with My best Application apprehend, how it comes to be Said in the Preamble to My Impeachment, that I had Design'd to Undermine and Subvert it, yet I shall gladly take this Opportunity, of Declaring My self, before YOUR LORDSHIPS upon That Subject. It is my Sincere and Heartly Prayer, that God would prolong the Life of HER MOST SACRED MAJESTY, whose Exemplary Goodness and Piety, give Us the Best Hopes*

*We*



We have of *Averting That Vengeance*, which is due to the *Wickedness* of the *Age* We Live in; that He would *Bless* HER *Councils* at *Home*, and HER *Arms* *Abroad*, and make HER *Reign* exceed that of HER *Renowned Predecessor* *Queen Elizabeth*, in *Length*, as well as *Glory*. But when the *Inheretrix* of the *Blessed Martyr's Crown*, and *Piety*, when SHE, the *Desire* of Our *Eyes*, and the *Breath* of Our *Nostrils*, shall full of *Years*, and *Honour*, be *Gather'd* to HER *Fathers*, and exchange HER *Temporal* for an *Immortal Crown*; (since We are *Depriv'd* of *That Prince*, HER *ROYAL OFFSPRING*, whose *Loss* no *True Lover* of his *Country*, and of the *Royal Family* can reflect upon without a *Bleeding Heart*, and whom God in his *Anger* took from Us, because We were *Unworthy* of so *Inestimable* a *Blessing*;) I earnestly beseech God, in defect of *Future Issue* from HER *MAJESTY*, to *Perpetuate* the *Succession* of the *Crown*, as it is *Establish'd* in the most *ILLUSTRIOUS* *HOUSE* of *HANNOVER*, which I look upon as, next to his *Providence*, the *Best Guard* We have against *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, the *Best Security* of Our *Church*, and of the *Constitution* of our *Government*, which is the *Glory* and *Happiness* of Our *Own Nation*, and the *Envy* of *All Others*. And I cannot yet apprehend, how the *Doctrine*, which I have *Taught* tends to *Weaken*, or *Undermine* it; nor on the *Other Side*, how the *Doctrine* of *Resistance*, which brought HER *MAJESTY's* *Royal-Grand-Father* to the *Block*, (*supposing* it a *true Doctrine*) comes to be *Mention'd*, or *Thought of*, much less to be *Industriously Maintain'd*, as a *NECESSARY* AND *INDISPENSIBLE DUTY*, under the most *Mild* and *Gracious Administration* of the *BEST OF QUEENS*. Nothing seems more *Strange* than that *Resistance* should be so carefully *Taught* under *such a Government*, unless it be that *Non-Resistance* should *Overturn* it.

So far was I therefore from having any of Those *Wicked*, *Malicious*, or *Seditious Designs*, which are laid to My *Charge*, that My *Intentions* were, on the *Contrary*, to *Instil* the *Principles* of *Loyalty*, and *Obedience* into My *Fellow-Subjects*, and vithal to put a stop to *That Torrent* of *Lewdness*, *Irreligion*, and *Atheism*, of which I have given YOUR *LORDSHIPS* so many *Flagrant Testimonies*.

Those *Outrageous Insults* upon God, and *Goodness*, are so Provoking, that they may Excuse some *Heat*, and *Severity of Expression* in a *Minister of Christ*, who has a *Just Sense of Religion*, a *due Concern* for the Discharge of his *Holy Function*, or for the *Honour of his Maker*, and *Redeemer*. And if any *Objection* be made against Me, for *Treating* with an *Unbecoming Bitterness* such *Daring Rabbish*, who *Defy the Living God*, I beg leave to Reply in the Words of a *Reverend Father of Our Church*, *Let them consider what Moderation, and Temper, a Man had need be of, that in This Nation, and this Age, shall speak against Faction, Rebellion* (I add, *Deism, Tritheism, and All Sorts of Heresy, Blasphemy, and Atheism*) *without Extraordinary Severity*. Nay, it is *Our Duty in such Cases*, to Express Our Selves with *Warmth*, and *Sharpness*, according to the Example of Our *Blessed Saviour*; who, tho' *Meekness it self*, could not but shew the utmost Indignation at the *Profaning the House of God*. This is not, MY LORDS, to *Rail*, but to *Rebuke*; and those, who *Ridicule*, or *Censure Us* for it, either *have not*, I presume, or *will not Own* They have, a *Right Notion* of the *Dignity of Our Office*; will not Consider, that We are the *Ambassadors of Christ*, that We are *Commanded*, in his Name, to *Exhort, and Rebuke with all Authority*; and that Our *Authority* is *Deriv'd* from those to whom it was said by Our *Blessed Saviour*, *He that Despiseth You, Despiseth Me, and He that Despiseth Me, Despiseth Him that sent Me*: Whatever Expressions therefore in my Sermons may have *Slip'd* from Me, which seem so far *Liabie to Exception*, as to carry a *Sense* I never *Intended* (as He must be an *Happy Speaker* indeed, whose Words are altogether unexceptionable) yet I humbly hope, the above-mention'd Provocations will Plead my Excuse, or that, at the very worst, some *hasty*, or even *Violent Expressions*, shall not be Deem'd *High Crimes and Misdemeanours*. I desire it may be farther consider'd by YOUR LORDSHIPS, that I could have no *Temporal Interests* to serve by the *Doctrines* I Advanc'd; and therefore could have no *Design* in view, but to *Discharge* my Duty to God, as a *Minister of Christ*, and to my *Sovereign*, as a *Faithful, and Loyal Subject*.

MY LORDS, These Things being humbly Offer'd to the  
Considera-



Consideration of YOUR LORDSHIPS, I hope, that what I have already Suffer'd, as a Suppos'd Criminal, will be Thought Sufficient Punishment for One, who has Offended against *no Law yet in Being*. It must be thought no Little Grief, and Vexation to any *Ingenuous Man*, to be Brought to *this Bar*, under the Least Suspicion of such Crimes as are laid to My Charge; but for a Person of My Function to have an Accusation of This Nature Alledg'd against Him, so heinously Reflecting upon His *Holy Character*, is such a Foul Blot, as tho' His Innocence should at last be Clear'd by YOUR LORDSHIPS, upon the most undeniable Evidence, must leave a Scar upon his Good Name; which is to All Men Dear, but much more so to Those, whose Whole Capacity of Doing Good in the World Principally Depends upon it.

MY LORDS, as the Matter of My Charge was highly Criminal, so the Form, and Manner of it ran in such General, and Uncertain Terms, that 'twas impossible to know the Grounds of My Accusation; or how to Defend My Self, when I knew not Where I should be Attack'd. So that after I had provided as particular an Answer as such a General Accusation would Admit of, the Commons were pleas'd in their Replication to say, that there were several Things in it Foreign to the Charge. To the Great Misfortune of falling under the Displeasure of that Honourable House, I might add, That of a Long and Close Confinement, and of an Expence no ways proportion'd to My Circumstances. These, MY LORDS, are Afflictions which can be conceiv'd by no Body so well as by Him, who has been so Unhappy as to Feel the Weight of Them. And among These I reckon it not the least of My Sufferings, that I have been for so long a time Debarr'd from taking heed to That Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made Me an Overseer. For even since I have had My Liberty, by the Favour of YOUR LORDSHIPS admitting Me to Bail, I have purposely avoided Doing any Part of the Duty of My Function, or even Appearing in Publick, lest it should Occasion any Tumult or Disturbance; as My Necessary Attendance on YOUR LORDSHIPS from time to time, has since been thought, Unhappily to have done, without any Fault

*Fault of Mine, or the least degree of Encouragement given by Me, which I profess, in the Presence of God, to Abhor.*

All these Circumstances, MY LORDS, being consider'd, together, with the *Publick Manner*, the *Length*, and *Solemnity* of My Trial, before so AUGUST a COURT OF JUDICATURE, by which Means I am made a *Gazing-Stock*, both by *Reproaches*, and *Afflictions*, and a *Spectacle to the Whole World*; I have stood in this place day after day, to hear my Self Accus'd of the *Blackest Crimes*, and openly *Revol'd*; I have been Represented as a *Papist in Disguise*, as a *Rebel*, as an *Enemy to HER MAJESTY's Person*, and *Government*, and a *Favourer of the Pretender*, tho' I have *Abjur'd* him, (but not *Forgot* him, as a *Learned Person* was pleas'd to say) that is, as the *Worst of Perjur'd Villains*: I have been call'd an *Insignificant Tool of a Party*, on the One hand, and a *most Dangerous Incendiary*, on the Other, nay an *Angel*, that is a *Devil*, detach'd from the *Infernal Regions*: All these things, I say, being consider'd, (and YOUR LORDSHIPS I am sure, in tender Compassion to Me, will consider them,) it is most certain, that, whatever be YOUR LORDSHIPS Determination concerning Me, I cannot escape without being a very *Great Sufferer*, and I shall have been abundantly *Punish'd*, tho' I should have the *Happiness* to be by YOUR LORDSHIPS at last *Acquitted*.

Yet I cannot Reflect without *Comfort*, (the *Greatest of Comforts*, next to *That of a Good Cause*, and a *Good Conscience*) that I *Answer for My Self this Day* before the most *Illustrious Assembly* in the *World*, the *Whole Body of the Nobility of GREAT BRITAIN*; whose *Princely Extraction*, and *High Quality*, whose *Magnificent Titles*, and *Splendid Fortunes*, whose *Hereditary Candour*, and *Generosity*, inherent in *Noble Bloud*, *Inseparable* from the *Birth*, and *Education of Peers*; in a word, whose *Solid Judgment*, and *Exact Skill* in the *Laws of This Realm*, so eminently Qualify them for the *Final Determination of Justice*; who are neither to be *Sway'd by Hopes*, *Over-rul'd by Fears*, nor *Misled by any False Prejudice*, or *Passion*. If it must be a *Man's Misfortune*, to *Labour under such hard Circumstances as Mine*, it is no small *Mitigation of Them*, that He *Pleads His Cause* before such *Judges*, who, He knows, will  
Decide



*Decide it, with the strictest Impartiality, Equity, and Honour.*

And when I consider that I now Stand, and am Judg'd for some of the *Doctrines of That Gospel*, which God Deliver'd unto Our Fathers, and You, My LORDS THE BISHOPS, Their Successors, have receiv'd from Christ and His Apostles, as the *Sacred Depositum* of the Church, to be Maintain'd inviolably in its *Primitive Simplicity*; when I consider, What is the *Cause for which I am this Day call'd in Question*; that it is *One of those Eternal Truths*, which You are so Solemnly Commission'd to Teach, and earnestly Contend for; when I consider, that 'tis what Our Blessed Lord and his Apostles seal'd with their most Precious Bloud, and so many Primitive Martyrs Maintain'd even in the midst of Flames, so many Learned Bishops, and Confessours Recommended to Posterity in Their Immortal Writings, as the Distinguishing Badge, and Glory of Our Reformation; nay, when I consider, that 'tis what You Your selves have already supported with Incontestable Reason, and Authority; it is no small Satisfaction to Me to think, that as YOUR LORDSHIPS are My Judges, so, I hope in God, You must be My Advocates. What a Guilt, as well as Disgrace, would it justly Devolve upon the Clergy, to Recede from any Principle of Our Excellent Church, especially from what has been so long Retain'd, and Boasted of, as its Peculiar Character! By Abandoning which We must Relapse into some of the worst Doctrines even of Popery it self, and render Our Selves the most Contemptible, as well as Inconsistent Church in the World! I think, I may therefore with Confidence use the Words of the Great Apostle to His Accusers; Having Obtain'd Help from God, I continue unto this Day, Witnessing both to Small and Great; Saying none other Things than those which the Prophets and Moses (I may add Christ, and his Apostles,) did say.

For, MY LORDS, if I have committed any Faults or Errors in Expression, yet as I Insist upon my Innocence with respect to All the High Crimes laid to My Charge, so I must still Insist upon All the Doctrines which I have Taught, as being Agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Doctrine of Our most Excellent and truly Apostolical Church, and which We of the Clergy are Oblig'd both by Subscription, and Oath

to Acknowledge, and Defend. And how hard are Our Circumstances, if We must be Punish'd in This World for Doing that, which if We do not, We shall be more heavily Punish'd in the Next ! What a Condition are We in, if We are Commanded to Cry aloud and Spare not, to Exhort, Rebuke, in Season and out of Season, on the one Hand, and Prosecuted, Imprison'd, Ruin'd on the Other ! If this be Our Case, who indeed is Sufficient for these Things ? And how truly may We of the Ministry above All Men Living, Apply to Our Selves those Words of the Apostle, *If in this Life only We have Hope in Christ, We are of all Men most miserable* : But Our Comfort is, that Our Hope in Christ is not only in this Life. Justly might we be Reproach'd, and Deserve some of Those Reflections, which in these Licentious Times are so Plentifully pour'd upon Us, were We not ready to Practise the Doctrines We Preach, of Self-Denial, taking up our Cross, and patient Submission to Sufferings and Afflictions ! For my Own Part, it matters not what becomes of Me, nor is My Deliverance, or Ruine, of any Moment to the World ; or, if it be, I am ready not only to be Bound, but to Dye, could I by That do Service to My QUEEN, My Church, or My Country, neither Count I my Life dear, so that I might Finish my Course, with Joy, and the Ministry, which I have receiv'd of the Lord Jesus. But may God so Direct YOUR LORDSHIPS, that through Me a Wound may not be Given to the Doctrines of the Scriptures, and of the Church, which Christ hath purchas'd with his own Blood.

And so, with all Humility and Resignation, I submit My Self to YOUR LORDSHIPS Judgment ; be it what it will, One Thing I am sure it can never take from Me, the Power of Wishing, and Praying, and (whether in Prosperity or Adversity, whether I am Acquitted, or Condemn'd,) I shall always Pray for the QUEEN MY SOVEREIGN, for YOUR LORDSHIPS, My Judges, and for the COMMONS My Accusers ; most earnestly beseeching Almighty God, to Deliver all Orders, and Degrees of Men amongst Us, from All False Doctrine, Heresy, and Schism, from Hardness of Heart, from Contempt of His Word, and Commandment ; from Envy, Hatred, and Malice, and all Uncharitableness.

F I N I S.



